1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations.

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buritĭ palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting.

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands.

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value.

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes.

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians.

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22).

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it.

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21).

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them.

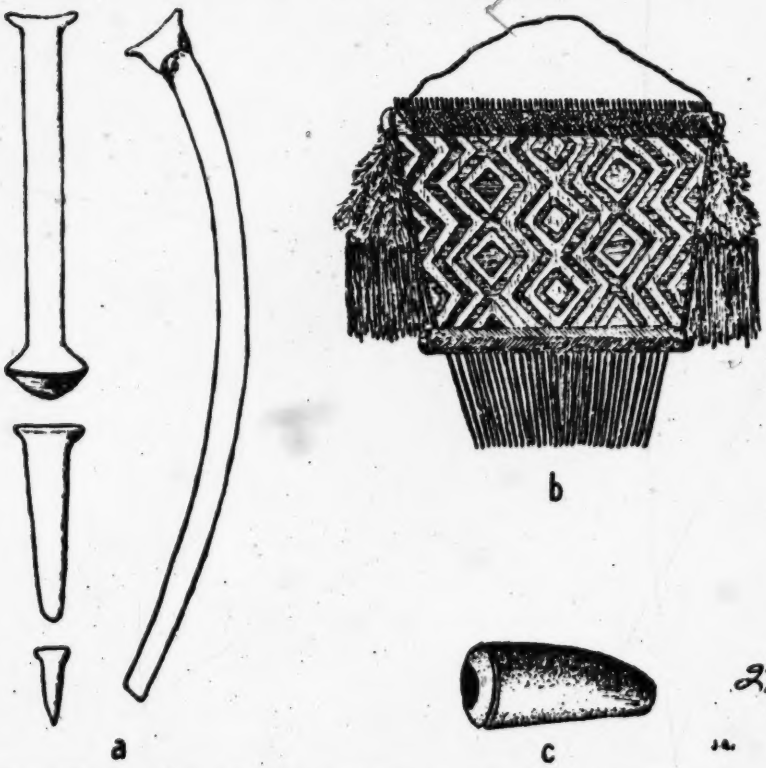


FIGURE 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ⅓ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 [773] [774] **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 [428] The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 [562] [177] The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[756] [793] [622]

59 [591] [592] Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476]

000 /3 cont./
forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. [177] So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/23 cont./

531 whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[342] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-

[172] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531 The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting

[535] patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531 The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface

[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like branched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here./[2] The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] 173 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here/[2] the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [205] (Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

[2],[2] [see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

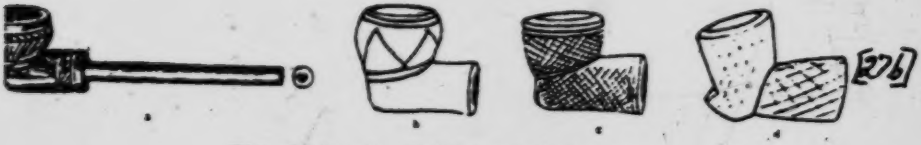


Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black.

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians.

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d).

/4 cont./

1. The Karaya Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz).

Historical.

175 The Karaya are mentioned for the first time on the occasion of that well-known raid which the Paulista gang-leader Antonio Pires Campos (2) undertook around the year 1684 from Cuyaba down

2: According to others, Manuel Pires Campos.

the Rio das Mortes to the Araguaia. It was at that time that the gold mines of the "Martirios," which play so important a role in modern Brazilian folk-tales, were discovered; they were later lost again and are still most eagerly sought to the present day. [131] On his return Pires Campos visited the "Ilha dos Carajas," the large island now called Bananal or Ilha da Santa Anna, which the [197] Araguaia forms between 13 1/2° and 10 1/2° south latitude. Numerous captives were dragged off from here to São Paulo as slaves.

In the forties of the previous century the son of the above, who had been called on by the Goyans for assistance against the hostile Kayapo, organized a second slave hunt along the Araguaia from Goyaz.

There is detailed information about this expedition in the report of the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (3), who visited the river

[113] 3. Rev. trim., Vol. 8, pp. 376 ff.

in 1775 on the orders of the then commander-in chief of Goyaz, José Almeida de Vasconcellos, in order to establish friendly relations with the wild tribes there, since the need to open the principal rivers of the province to navigation was making itself felt more and more. In June of the year concerned he and his troop reached the southern tip of Bananal Island and were soon able to win over the Karaya living there.

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
•179 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[16] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[36] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[67] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[64]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
● 177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[121] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[148] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other
[535] hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio
[131] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [22] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [206] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 10 three large tribes of the Yavahẽ, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [16] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [13] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [36] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahẽ are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahẽ. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/7 cont./

36 [648] Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank. Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the 177 Yavahẽ and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization" [184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable. On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob- [126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They [648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 [101] [361] [224] The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports. They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions, however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up to the region of the Apinagẽs, near the present São Vincente, from [172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiŏ is really part of the national costume.
[514] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not
854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original
352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gēs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
[283] cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

[184] This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (åodi) plaited out of
824 uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[197] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.

342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurärŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without 224 further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the [262] villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrăʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierŏ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
417 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[239] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

• 177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/26 cont./

collected, 24 centimeters high, without an apron, belongs here. The face is clearly modeled, the hair reproduced by a thin layer of wax with cotton fringes hanging down in front, a chain of Ricinus kernels and pierced snail-shells with black tassels decorates the neck (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 6).

Finally we have completely finished forms (obtained only from the Sambioa). Face and body are imitated completely true to nature, the arms folded over the stomach. The wax hair hangs far down in back. Line painting covers the chest and limbs. Some are supplied with ear sticks and necklaces, others with small "redes." Unfortunately the legs and the seat of almost all of them are of unnatural thickness (Pl. XI, 7). A black wax figure, the best one of the collection, nevertheless shows proportional form throughout (Pl. XI, 9). Whereas all figures of this type wear an apron, others of gray clay are without it. They also lack hair; on the other hand, they have on their backs a carrying basket likewise made of clay. The arms are drawn up against the chest (Pl. XI, 8). The male figures of this category are disproportionately long and narrow in the upper trunk, with almost spherical lower legs. Hair and genitals are of wax. There are sticks in the ears, chains of glass beads around the neck (Pl. XI, 10).

[177] The caricatures of Brazilian soldiers made out of lumps of wax, with the uniform indicated by bits of blue and red cloth pasted on, are very crude, but not without a certain humor in the execution.

Social Life, Law and Custom.

114 The social arrangements of the Karaya can for the present be treated only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the little that I [115] observed myself or that was learned through the agency of my companion and most important informant, the old chief Pedro Manco, may at least provide points of reference for further research.

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 [114] Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau. I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision. [177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764 [768]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

764 535 Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The [533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
115 dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
793 such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

793 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
● 199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

793 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/173 cont./

C 175 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyaba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioá /Shambioa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

C [113]

> 4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Araés. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Araés./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20 C [177] years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

> 5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó T [177] /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hundred Tapirapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

> 6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

/174/

175 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by
179 land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met
[131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna,
[648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás
[114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[13] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers
175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/192 cont./

167 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its
648 origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos
[177] at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be
361 definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

If we take the Rio Tapirapé as the point of separation, there were: /Plates 39 and 40 appear here/

/193/

	below:	above:
on the downstream trip...	6 villages, 1 migratory village,	7 villages, 3 migratory villages,
on the upstream trip...	4 (1) villages, 3 migratory villages,	9 villages, 1 migratory village.

[13]

1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[Text continues on p. 70]

/194 cont./

1. (cont.)
[648] [115] the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [720] [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hãtǒ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/194 cont./

342 I myself did not see the rainy-season huts. In October /195/ (beginning of the rainy season) the Karajá occupied, on the sand-banks, a hut form differing from the dry-season type; according to their statements, they build their houses on the high banks from November to March in the same way as this transitional type. The chief difference in contrast to the dry-season house is that the two open narrow sides are each closed off by a round structure projecting out about one meter, in each of which a small opening permits entrance (Pl. 40, Ill. 1). The manner in which the round structures are built is shown in Ill. 2 of Plate 40. They are covered in the same way as the rest of the house. Apparently they serve to prevent rain from entering from the side.

[335] By far the majority of these closed huts showed a second difference: they were once again as long; the framework thus consisted of six arches (1). The long houses, /Ill. 18 appears here/

[113] 1. Such long huts with a low entrance on the front side are already mentioned by Villa Souza Real in 1792 from among the Šambioá. Rev. trim., Vol. 11, p. 430.

closed on both sides, naturally afford far greater protection from rain and at the same time to a greater number of persons than, say, two short huts (Pl. 32, Ill. 1).

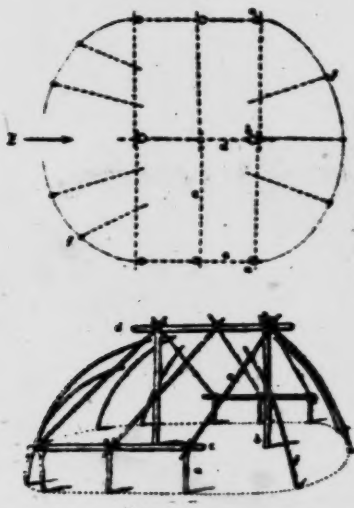
The entrances are fashioned differently: at the beginning and end of the rainy season, only two-thirds of the rounding is covered on the side, and the last third is left free as an entrance (Pl. 39); at the time of the heavy rains, however, the entire rounding is covered, except for a low entrance in the center (Pl. 32, Ill. 2). In the transition periods all possible variations occur: short house with a round structure, long house open on both sides, etc.

342 In the southernmost villages, near Schischá and São José, 184 there were houses which deviated considerably from this method 177 of construction; they represented a mixed type from the building method of the Šavajé and Brazilians. They look very rancho-like.

[335] The side walls are formed by three vertical posts about one meter

/195 cont./

342 high, in the forks of each of which rests a longitudinal beam.
184 In the center of each of the two narrow sides stands a post about
● 197 three meters high; a ridge beam is laid across the two of them.
335 In most cases a second longitudinal beam at half the height also connects them. From the ridge beam to the side longitudinal beam three rafters run down on either side. /196/ The entrances are closed by round structures. The covering corresponds to that



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks

Ill. 18.
Ground plan and framework of the short hut of the mixed type. Karajá.

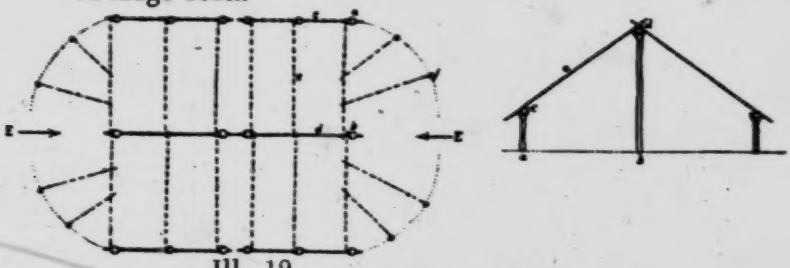
of the other houses. This therefore produces vertical walls, and wall and roof are separate from each other (framework and
342 ground plan, Ill. 18; covered house, Pl. 40, Ill. 3). Sometimes
184 double houses are built in this way. Such huts are considerably
197 higher and roomier, and the round structures project out farther, up to two meters (Ill. 19). /Ills. 19 and 20 appear here./ These houses were originally taken over from the Šavajé; one can, however, easily trace how the Šavajé house changed here under Brazilian influence into this mixed house.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 76]

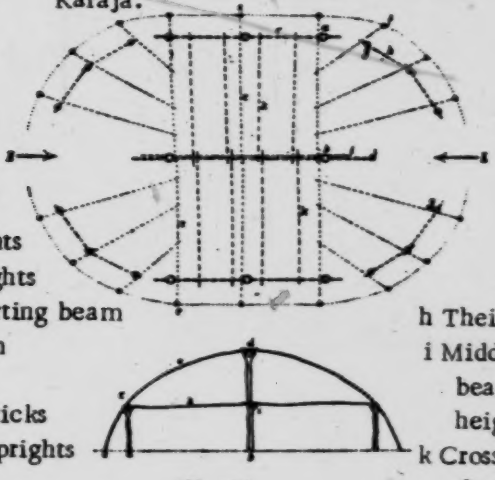
/196 cont./

347
184
[177]

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 19.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Karajá.



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Rounding uprights
h Their crossbeams
i Middle longitudinal beam at half the height
k Crossbeam for the floor

Ill. 20.
Ground plan and cross-section of the house of the Savajé on Bananal.

/196 cont./

342 335 The unaffected Šavajé house is shown in the ground plan and cross-section in Ill. 20. Characteristic are: two ridge uprights, over them the ridge beam, a second longitudinal beam at two-thirds of the height; three side uprights on either side, and over them /197/ side crossbeams. The rafters are led down from the ridge beam over the side crossbeams to the floor and fastened to the floor itself. The roundings are each supported by six low uprights, the three of each of the two sets are connected by cross-beams over which the rounding's roof-beams run down to the ground from the first and third arch. Thus, sides and rounding are supported from the inside by uprights with crossbeams. The entrances are in the roundings. These houses are 20-25 meters long, 12-15 meters wide, 3-4 meters high.

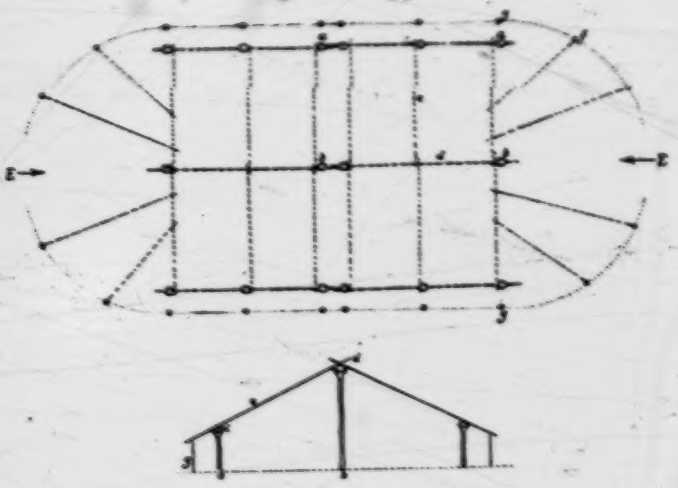
342 335 177 In Schischá at the end of October I came across the house of an immigrant Šavajé family; it was already altered (ground plan and cross-section, Ill. 21; covered, Pl. 40, Ill. 4). First of all it was a double house; its layout was identical with that of the Karajá house (Ill. 19). The difference was /Ill. 21 appears here/ that in front of each of the side support-beams a low, free-standing wall post had been rammed into the ground; to these wall posts, which were not connected by crossbeams, the wall covering was fastened. Thus, the separation into roof and wall had already occurred here; the wall supports were retained, and they became side support-beams. With regard to the round structures the layout is already simpler in Karajá fashion. In the mixed houses of the Karajá, these wall posts have disappeared; the covering is fastened to the side support-beams themselves. Thus, we have here before us the process of the development of the Šavajé house into the rancho; one need only omit the round structures in order to have a genuine Brazilian rancho structure. I actually saw such a house among the boatbuilders of Schischá on my downstream journey.

162 /198/ The assumption that the inhabitants of the southern-most villages of the south horde are mixed with Šavajé (see above: "Size" and "Number" /see pp. 46 and 67/) thereby gains additional support.

/198 cont./

342
184
177

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Wall supports



Ill. 21.

Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Šavajé in Schischá.

[335] [340] That this influence actually acted in this way, and that these houses are not, say, ranchos taken over from the Brazilians and simply provided with round structures, is first of all shown by the example of the Šavaje, who are acquainted with the ridge beam and upright construction, and then by the fact that the mask houses of the Karajá of the south horde and those of the Šavajé have a ridge beam which is fastened at the top to the three arches. If we add, as is shown in Ill. 3 in Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 13, that the houses of the Šambioá resemble those of the Šavajé, then the huts

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
● 197 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bũlẽ̃) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩĩõ̃ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩĩõ̃ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end; in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdjĭ). It is worn only by the male sex. [1887] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade [824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these 292 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade 293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the 285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Šambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taă), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these [1887] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šăpēo, Braz. chapeo) 292 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from 293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

/208 cont./

292 The net covering [rī(ī)ǒ, rīŭ], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[289] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should ● [177] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/; the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 [324] The stone lip-plugs (mănă'dĕlĕ; mănă = stone, mănădĕrĕzo = rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [498] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kõdẽsi, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dẽsi). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ũljãũ and wõdãĩdĩ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully [415] stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them [177] wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line [184] around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, [114] I did not see the following:

/251/ or die, come to the surface as a result, and can then be conveniently gathered in. The fence prevents the fish from escaping into the river. Eating this fish is not harmful to human beings; even drinking the water merely causes a stomach-ache. The Karajá maintain that they learned this type of fishing, which is carried on especially during the rainy season when the water is muddy, from the Chavánte (see also, however, the fish fence of the Tapirapé /see p. 342 /).

I did not see or hear anything about weirs for small fish (adžuriã), on which Ehrenreich reports, nor of other fishing apparatus.

C. Storage and Preparation of Food.

The yield from the plantings as well as from hunting and fishing expeditions is usually consumed at once. The hot climate prohibits the laying away of larger supplies; above all, the preservation of meat is completely out of the question because of the lack of salt. In fact, the Indian is forced to go fishing again in the afternoon, since the fish caught in the morning would already be spoiled by suppertime. It is impossible to keep fresh meat for more than a quarter of a day, and even roasted meat is inedible the next day.

Thus, the Indians have to work hard and be constantly concerned about food, especially in the dry season, when the yield from the plantings is always small. To some extent they help themselves with turtles, which, as mentioned above, they keep alive; turtle eggs, cooked and dried, keep for a very long time. But the Indians do not store even plant produce in large quantities; they have supplies for only two or three days in the manioc lying on their supply racks or in the maize kernels in large gourds with a side opening. They also store water in whole gourds.

All foods are eaten cooked; only fruits, as well as turtle eggs, are eaten raw; everything else is boiled or roasted.

/255 cont./
261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were
● [197] [538] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently

[113] 1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

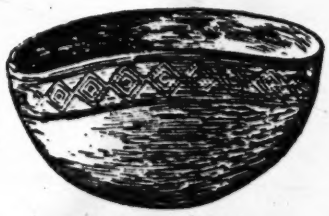
412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālă (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădālă liŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālă (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds ĭsă liŏlĕ, kălsŏ, ŭălŭ, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katară) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mănă (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

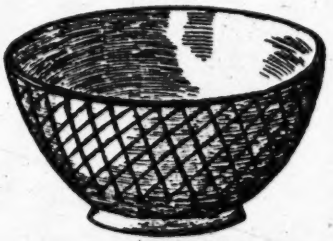
/256 cont./

412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

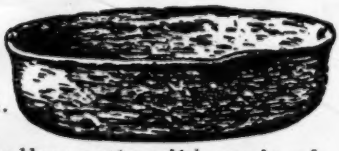
415 [53] 197



Ill. 94.
Gourd vessel for eating.



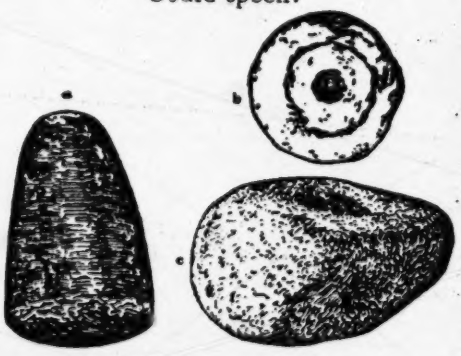
Ill. 96.
Modern eating dish.



Ill. 95.
412 Shallow eating dish made of clay.

Ill. 97.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.
Gourd spoon.



Ill. 99 a-c.
a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine /257/ o'clock, and supper (lirosik) at about five or six o'clock. In between, [262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc.; at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djudea). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

/257 cont./

273 From maize they allegedly make a drink kănūắ, with the preparation of which, however, I am unfamiliar.

The most common festive drink, which is drunk on all visits and other /258/ occasions, is made out of manioc mush (ĭūărŭ̆k). The way of making it is described by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," pp. 16-17). The slight fermentation is brought about by chewing the residuum of the cooled mush. The Indians, men and women, scoop out the drink in huge quantities. It is slightly intoxicating; the people quickly get puffy faces, watery eyes, and are inclined to chatter. It tastes like unseasoned diced-potato soup.

[177] Sugar-cane liquor (cachaça: ĭbūălĕ́) is already penetrating here, too, through the Brazilians. There is only one village, however, Schischá, in which liquor is drunk by all, presumably because liquor is made in the vicinity and the drink is therefore very cheap. Otherwise I found very few Indians who accepted liquor (for example, Chief Ilk); women never drank any, except in Schischá. Usually it was also refused by the men and young people.

F. Food Prohibitions.

262 It has already been mentioned above that the potentialities for food are not fully utilized, that some foodstuffs are scorned. [114] The reason for this is difficult to find. I already thought that I was on the trail of a totemistic system, but I did not succeed in proving it. Apparently, along with superstitious notions, personal taste also plays a role in this.

The following are quite generally not eaten: the meat of domestic animals, eggs, howling monkeys, capybaras, dolphins, crayfish, and mussels. The tracajá turtle and its eggs are eaten only by old people; young people scorn them, because eating them is said to have a bad effect. Allegedly chiefs are said not to eat red-deer meat. Grilled piranha is regarded as the sole food for sick persons; pregnant women, too, are forbidden many foods. Individual persons did not eat certain things: thus, Pedro

/258 cont./
scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kõtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kõtĭlătĭ) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālă, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭlũlălũ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kõ(ũ)gă). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[937] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[983]

/274 cont./

411 words, rests between the latter and the board, while the fifth finger lies on the left edge. The front end of the arrow is supported with the outstretched left hand. The arrow is hurled with the same motion with which a spear is thrown. Horizontal, high, and low throws (the latter in fishing) may be executed with it.

I no longer came across this implement among the Karajá; they were familiar with it, to be sure, but in the south horde there were middle-aged persons who maintained that they had never [184] seen one. Its use was known, however, and it was universally reported that the Šavajé had many throwing sticks and still used them.

411 526 Among the Karajá it is now used only as a sporting weapon in the game called ănărkănt̆ědūŏhŭ (game of the Tapirapé), which is supposed to take place at the time of the blossoming of the pau d'arco. According to the description, the game proceeds as follows: Two youths stand facing each other, both armed with arrow thrower and arrows. One of them issues a challenge to battle by singing, wōhŭlālăkūdjé, wōhŭlālăkūdjé: throw the arrow, you won't hit me anyway. The other replies, djŏbĭdjŏbĭkŏ, djŏbĭkŏ dèhōĭ: I shall indeed hit you. Then they start throwing arrows at each other toward the thighs or ankles, and each tries to show his skill in throwing, as well as in dodging the arrow. If a person does not dodge adroitly, the arrow is said to penetrate quite deep into the flesh and can be forced out only by being struck from both sides with the throwing stick. Bad wounds are said to result.

[171] The name of the game is striking: game of the Tapirapé. The Karajá reported that the Tapirapé were in possession of the throwing stick and also this game. This suggests that the Karajá took it over from there, if we think of the presence of this implement in the Xingu source region. The circumstances that caused the loss of this implement among the Karajá and its flourishing again among the Šavajé eludes our knowledge.

411 I did not see the pellet-bow (bŏdŏkĕ) among the Karajá. I was told in the south horde, however, that they knew how to make it and that the children threw stones with it to kill small [177] birds. Probably the Indians took it over from the Brazilians, whose children in Leopoldina largely used it as a toy. The lack

/274 cont./

411 of a native word for the instrument at least leads to the conclu-
[177] sion that the implement, too, is not native.

Note. By way of supplement, I must here discuss two implements about which the Indians gave me information that could not be checked at all. It was my principle to inquire
[125] systematically about everything that might possibly occur; and where the description was not adequate, I made models. Thus, I demonstrated a stone sling to the Indians. They then told me, in agreement in various villages, that this instrument (nĕrŭdi) was familiar to them, but that they did not use it because of a scarcity of stones. Allegedly they had taken it over from the
[177] Brazilians. It /275/ was impossible for me to induce the Indians to make such an instrument.

Even more dubious are the statements about the boomerang. My informant Kurišĭ, whom, on the basis of my other experiences, I must regard as trustworthy, told me: his mother told him in his childhood that the Karajá of the north horde had a stick (ĭādĕzé) that came back when it was thrown. He had not seen such an implement; it must therefore have fallen into disuse long ago, I was unable to gain confirmation of these two statements; I am therefore repeating them here with all reservations.

411 The Indians do not have defensive weapons. Against blows
714 they protect themselves merely with the hand and the arm. They ward off flying arrows with the club; they do not know how to divert them with the spear, with bow or arrow. They have no real protection against the recoil of the bowstring; the recoil is even said to be very painful. It is somewhat mitigated by the arm cuff (dĕsi); a person who does not wear cuffs, like the married men, wraps bast around his lower arm; this apparently occurs only in war, however, for I did not notice anything of the kind for fishing.

714 Amulets are lacking; they use only a charm against arrow
751 shooting; a disk ten centimeters in diameter and made out of scraped pieces of the bowstring is glued on both sides of the chest with resin. They believe that no arrow can then hit the chest.

/280 cont./

462 561 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets [589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 178 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)

> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and [177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how- [176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, To be noted.

/284 cont./

415 177 439 very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds [531] Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration. [386 317] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth for this (zũzẽ, zõũbũlẽ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians [531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

192

Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 114 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

28
462 /289 cont./
285 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women. Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across
[963] the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti
[962] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The
294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Apparently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring
[977] Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

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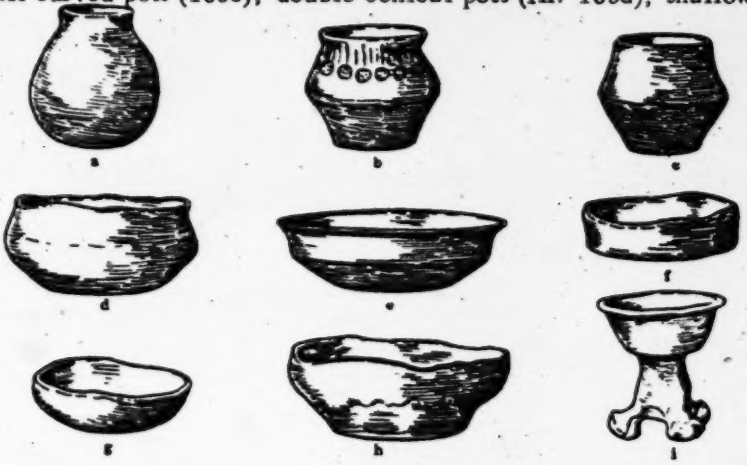
/308 cont./
in other villages. /309/ Could influence from the Tapirapé Indians be present here? A few specimens seem to be merely unskillful versions of true Karajá types. Of the ordinary forms there should be mentioned: vessels like water jugs (Ill. 169 a, b), tall curved pots (169c), double conical pots (Ill. 169d), shallow



Ill. 169 a-i.
Small toy dishes.

Ill. 170 a-f.
Small toy dishes.

/312 cont./

524 a second person takes part by lifting them off, etc. Each of the figures has a special name; I was shown wind, stars, deer. In general, the string game is regarded as a very difficult game.

[824] [177] I did not see balls, but was told that they make themselves balls out of maize leaves (dõki). They maintain that they learned to make them from the Brazilians. I also did not see anywhere the feather balls made out of corncobs with a ring-shaped insert, which Ehrenreich mentions.

Finally, still to be mentioned is a puzzle game which is popularly practiced by youths and men. The problem is to make two interlocking cane sections out of one piece. What matters here is only the clever way of making it. A piece of cane /313/ approximately 15 centimeters long and half a centimeter wide is split lengthwise, the two sections cut out in the upper layer by means of parallel cuts, the inner substance is scraped out except for two knobs at the ends, and the plaything is finished (Ill. 177 a, b).

Sport and Physical Abilities.

541 [177] As for animal fights, there are said to be cockfights, which, like the hens, they have taken over from the Brazilians. I did not see any; they were described to me as follows: children hide a hen under a mat; then they bring two roosters, one after the other, in order to provoke them.

526 Climbing is practiced a great deal. They are very adept at climbing tall trees; it is said that they sometimes tie a rope around both feet as a climbing loop.

Foot racing is very popular among the male youth; women and children, too, are said to participate in it. Apparently there are times when larger foot-race games are organized (rainy season). At other times the young people run for practice on the sandbank; the one in the lead often holds both arms stretched out sideways, in order not to let the other pass. Their resting position is peculiar: standing, they draw one leg up and place the sole of it against the inner side of the knee of the other (Pl. 30, Ill. 4).

/341 cont./

C 829 648 S 105

What the Karaja say about the neighboring Indian tribes (1).

1. For their statements about Šavajé, Tapirapé, and Kayapó, see under these peoples /see pp. 310 and 336 with regard to the first two; the material dealing with the last-named people has not been translated/.

C S [101]

The Chavánte (kl̆iũz̆á, kũl̆iz̆á) live on the west bank, on the Rio das Mortes, on campo territory; between São José and Leopoldina they also come as far as the Araguaya. They are tall, have fat paunches and a light skin color. Old men wear beards; the hair is cut short in front, as among the Karajá, is worn hanging down very long in back and tied together with red string. The men tie up the penis in front with a black string: in the lower lip they wear small buttons of wood. A genipap painting on the chest is popular: a line from each armpit to the lower end of the breastbone. The Chavánte fish with poison cipo, and the Karajá maintained that they first learned this method of fishing from them. The Chavánte are a true campo people; they do not like to travel in the forest; they even burn off the campo, in order to be able to travel better. They transport their supplies in carrying baskets which are carried by the men. As for weapons, they carry lances, clubs, bows and arrows. The arrows are like those of the Karajá, but are regarded as ugly. One kind has points of tucum wood; these remain stuck in a wound and are broken off (whereas the bamboo blade points of the Karajá arrows may be pulled out, but they tear large holes, so that the wounded person bleeds to death). The feathers of the feathering are given their shape by burning. There are no poisoned arrows. The Chavánte are the enemies of the Karajá. They have already killed many Karajá, whereas the latter have killed only one Chavánte (2).

C [177]

S G48 [113]

2. This hostile relationship dates from ancient times. As Fonseca reports (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 382-388), the Chavánte, who lived between

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

342 184 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house [177] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1). [353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are [354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

36 184 [346] The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Chapter VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] The Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambióa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 186 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and determined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambióa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more orderly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located between Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As regards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this [854] hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is [352] known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleep- [286] ing on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It
is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing
away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or
to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the
purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally
with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers
of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived
of without these creatures. The way they treat them in-
dicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their do-
ings—that they look upon them as their companions and
equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship— [538]
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their
tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treas-
ury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic
use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured
while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most
cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members
of the families of their captors, where their presence seems
to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards
any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [231]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have
bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the
many feathered adornments that are so much admired by
these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to
multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [197]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is found in ponds, and similar small game. 224

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—remarkably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of savagery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized" Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The high agricultural development reached by these savages is very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the "wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn. But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans, brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these foodstuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Brazilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleasing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree; the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the uplands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree, which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

241 [178] [273] [262] [177] 272 262

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Chapter IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

The industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period.

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth.

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line. 526 628

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of the Sambiða villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe. 535 [177]

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamentation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by 764 [768]

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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began. There are numerous tales of the transformer, recounting how every beast got his present form. There are accounts explaining the origin of other peoples. There is a myth validating the men's cult. Others explain the origin of the staples of life, manioc and corn. There is a myth accounting for the behavior of the sun and the moon. This body of history lends depth to the Carajá picture of the world. He feels that he knows more clearly how things are disposed because he knows where they came from or, at least, how they were arranged at an earlier time.

In conclusion, I should like to mention another curious point. The Carajá, who, after hundreds of years of contact with white culture and nearly a century of close contact, cling so resolutely to their beliefs, are not a bit fussy about details. The stories are told differently by almost every teller. The amount of variation in important details is enormous. A single example must suffice here. I heard two versions of the emergence myth quite different from the brief one given above. In one a woman detected the presence of death in the upper world and in her resentment at not being listened to shut the hole to the underworld, thus locking the others out when they tried to return. In the other Kaboi did not let them back again because he feared they might bring death in with them. A Carajá who travelled with me from village to village heard all sorts of variants of this kind and accepted them all with almost equal confidence. It was not that he did not see the discrepancies. They did not matter to him. A similar laxity is found in all Carajá religious observances. The pattern of a ceremony is more or less definite but every performance varies greatly. Such flexibility would seem to invite the penetration of foreign matter and yet I can detect the presence of little that may be considered borrowing from white culture. It will be of interest to compare the beliefs of the Carajá with those of other Brazilian tribes with whom they may be supposed to have had fairly recent contacts.

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